

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 ORM-03 SR-02 SAJ-01 OMB-01

NIC-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /156 W

----- 122540

R 131627Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9254

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 17950

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, PL

SUBJECT: OLSZOWSKI'S VISIT TO BONN

REF: WARSAW 6315

SUMMARY: ACCOUNT WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM FONOFF SOURCES  
OF THE DECEMBER 5 TO 7 VISIT OF POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER  
OLSZOWSKI CONFORMS IN ALL ESSENTIALS WITH THAT PROVIDED  
IN REFTEL. VISIT BROUGHT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN FRG-  
POLISH EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE THEIR RELATIONS. GERMANS  
TOOK TOUGH POSITION ON EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS  
FROM POLAND, MAINTAINING THAT A MORE GENEROUS POLISH  
ATTITUDE WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS OF THEIR  
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NEGOTIATIONS; POLES OBLIGED BY AGREEING TO ISSUE EXIT

VISAS TO 150,000 PERSONS OVER THREE YEAR PERIOD.  
GERMANS INDICATED ONLY SLIGHTLY GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON  
TERMS OF PROPOSED DM 1 BILLION CREDIT TO POLAND. JOINT  
COMMISSION OF EXPERTS WERE ESTABLISHED TO DISCUSS  
FURTHER THE TERMS OF THIS CREDIT AND ALSO THE QUESTION  
OF POSSIBLE PAYMENTS BY THE FRG TO RESIDENTS OF POLAND  
ELIGIBLE FOR PENSIONS UNDER FRG LAW. FONOFF'S POLISH  
DESK OFFICER CONSIDERS IT LIKELY THAT THESE COMMISSIONS,  
WHICH PLAN TO CONVENE IN JANUARY, WILL NARROW OUTSTANDING  
DIFFERENCES SUFFICIENTLY SO THAT GIerek VISIT TO  
FRG COULD TAKE PLACE AS EARLY AS MARCH 1974, QUITE  
POSSIBLY WITHOUT ANOTHER MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS  
BEFORE HAND. END SUMMARY

1. FONOFF REPRESENTATIVE SAID SCHEEL HAD SPOKEN TO OLSZOWSKI MORE BLUNTLY THAN EVER BEFORE ON THE NEED FOR A MORE GENEROUS POLISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS. POLISH FOOT-DRAGGING ON THIS ISSUE WAS CONTRIBUTING TO AN ATMOSPHERE OF DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE FRG, ONE CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH COULD BE THE INABILITY OF THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHICH POLAND IS HOPING FOR. FOR THE FIRST TIME, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, OLSZOWSKI APPEARED IMORESSSED BY THIS KIND OF TALK. AFTER ONLY A TOKEN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE EARLIER POLISH POSITION THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THE POLISH "INFORMATION" HAD BEEN ESSENTIALLY FULFILLED, OLSZOWSKI AGREED TO UNDERTAKE FORMALLY TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF 50,000 ETHNIC GERMANS PER YEAR IN 1974, 1975 AND 1976.

2. CURRENT PLAN IS TO PUT THIS UNDERTAKING IN THE FORM OF A JOINT PROTOCOL. IN ADDITION TO PROJECTED EMIGRATION FIGURES FOR THE YEARS 1974-1976, THE TWO SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT THE PROTOCOL SHOULD CONTAIN A STATEMENT THAT THEY WILL REVIEW THE SITUATION IN THE LATTER PART OF 1976 TO SEE WHAT MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. IN OTHER WORDS, IT WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT 150,000 IS NOT NECESSARILY TO BE REGARDED AS CONCLUDING THE MATTER.

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3. THERE IS AS YET NO AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS WHICH GERMAN SIDE WOULD LIKE TO INCLUDE IN THE PROTOCOL:  
A) ARRANGEMENTS FOR JOINT EXAMINATION OF CASES IN WHICH WOULD-BE EMIGRES ARE REJECTED BY POLISH AUTHORITIES.  
B) CLARIFICATION TO EFFECT THAT ETHNIC GERMANS CAN LEAVE POLAND FOR PURPOSES OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION EVEN IN THOSE CASES WHERE THE FAMILY MEMBERS ALREADY OUTSIDE OF POLAND LEFT ILLEGALLY. C) A GENERAL STATEMENT

MAKING CLEAR IN SOME WAY THAT POLISH AUTHORITIES WILL  
STOP HARRASSING ETHNIC GERMANS WHO EXPRESS THE WISH  
TO EMIGRATE.

4. SCHEEL PERSUADED OLSZOWSKI, AFTER STRONG INITIAL  
RESISTANCE, TO AGREE TO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF 50,000  
WHO ARE TO BE PERMITTED TO EMIGRATE IN 1974. (FACT  
THAT POLES HAVE AGREED TO SAME FIGURES FOR SUCCEEDING  
TWO YEARS REMAINS CONFIDENTIAL.) SCHEEL REPRESENTED  
THIS AS AN URGENT POLITICAL REQUIREMENT FOR THE FRG  
IN ORDER TO SHOW THAT FRG WAS MAKING SOME PROGRESS IN

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R 131627Z DEC 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9255  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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ITS OSTPOLITIK NEGOTIATIONS.

5. THE TERMS OF THE GERMAN CREDIT OFFER REMAIN THOSE REPORTED IN BONN 15575. ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC SOURCES IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE, THE POLES PRESSED FOR A HIGHER FIGURE AND FOR A LOWER INTEREST RATE BUT SCHEEL HELD FIRM ON THE DM 1 BILLION TOTAL, AGREEING ONLY TO NEGOTIATE THE TERMS FURTHER. AT OLSZOWSKI'S SUGGESTION, A GERMAN-POLISH WORKING GROUP WILL MEET IN BONN IN JANUARY TO NEGOTIATE THESE TERMS AND THE GERMANS EXPECT THAT THE POLES WILL USE THIS OCCASION TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AT LEAST DM 1.5 BILLION.

6. OUR SOURCE REPORTED THAT THERE IS SOME FLEXIBILITY  
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IN THE GERMAN POSITION ON THE INTEREST RATE BUT THAT FOUR PER CENT WAS AS LOW AS THE FRG WAS WILLING TO GO. HE SAID THAT FINANCE MINISTER SCHMIDT HAD TOLD OLSZOWSKI THAT THE FRG COULD NOT PROVIDE TOO GREAT AN INTEREST RATE SUBSIDY WITHOUT ITS HAVING AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF THE CREDIT.

7. COMMENT: THE POLISH DELEGATION WAS, WE ARE TOLD, GENUINELY DISAPOINTED AT THE FIRMNESS WITH WHICH SCHEEL AND SCHMIDT HELD TO THE 1 BILLION DM SUBSIDIZED CREDIT OFFER. IN THE OBINION OF ONE OF OUR FONOFF CONTACTS THE POLES EXPECTED THAT A RESTATEMENT OF THEIR DESIRE FOR 3 BILLION WOULD RATHER QUICKLY ELICIT A COMPROMISE OFFER OF 1.5 BILLION. ALTHOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE CHANCELLOR MAY IN FACT DECIDE THAT HE NEEDS ANOTHER DM 500 MILLION IN HIS HIP POCKET FOR POSSIBLE USE DURING THE GIEREK VISIT, THE GERMAN POSITION SEEMS TO BE HARDENING ON THE DM 1 BILLION TOTAL. THE FRG REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRECEDENT-SETTING NATURE OF THIS CREDIT, ESPECIALLY AS NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHER EE'S LOOM ON THE HORIZON. MOREOVER, PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SUBSIDIZED CREDITS TO POLAND CAN BE EXPECTED TO DROP OFF AS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN GERMANY WORSENS IN THE WAKE OF THE ENERGY CRISIS..

8. ON THE INVESTMENT FRONT, ECONOMICS MINISTER FRIDERICHES WILL TRAVEL TO POLAND ON DECEMBER 12 TO DISCUSS A SERIES OF PROJECTS FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE GERMAN-POLISH COOPERATION. SPECIFIC AREAS OF INTEREST ARE ELECTRICAL WORKS, CHEMICALS, HEAVY INDUSTRY AND MACHINE TOOLS.

9. A SECOND JOINT COMMISSION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO LOOK INTO THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE FRG PENSION PAYMENTS TO RESIDENTS OF POLAND. THIS POSSIBILITY WAS FIRST

RAISED BY GERMAN NEGOTIATORS IN 1970. THE THOUGHT AT THAT TIME WAS THAT IT MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THE EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS IN A WAY POTENTIALLY USEFUL TO THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, I.E. IT WOULD OFFER A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO EMIGRATION. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THE GERMANS HAD FORGOTTEN THIS PROPOSAL WHEN IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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REVIVED BY THE POLISH SIDE DURING SCHEEL'S OCTOBER 1973 VISIT TO WARSAW. WHAT THE POLES HAD IN MIND, HOWEVER, WAS SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT. THEY EVIDENTLY WANTED TO USE THESE PENSION PAYMENTS AS A KIND OF DIRECT COMPENSATION FROM THE FRG TO CERTAIN DESIGNATED VICTIMS OF NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS, FORCED LABOR ORACICES, ETC. GERMANS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEIR WILLINGNESS TO

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R 131627Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9256  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
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EXAMINE THIS QUESTION IN A JOINT COMMISSION DOES NOT  
MEAN THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO ARRANGE FOR SUCH  
PAYMENTS TO ANY ONE IN POLAND WHO WOULD NOT BE ENTITLED  
TO THEM UNDER EXISTING GERMAN LAW.

10. COMMENT: THERE IS A FEELING IN THE FRG FONOFF THAT  
A SUBTLE CHANGE IN THE BARGAINING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE FRG AND POLAND HAS COME ABOUT, ONE WHICH MAY GIVE  
THE FRG NEGOTIATORS MORE LEVERAGE. FOR THE FIRST TIME  
THE POLES SEEM TO BE TAKING SERIOUSLY THE NOTION THAT  
DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE FRG COULD  
IMPOSE SERIOUS LIMITATIONS ON THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT'S  
MANEUVERING ROOM IN THE FIELD OF OSTPOLITIK, AND THAT  
SOME ACCOUNT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE TAKEN OF THEM. THIS  
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NEW-FOUND SENSITIVITY MAY BE DUE IN PART TO THE OBVIOUS  
ATMOSPHERE OF DISILLUSIONMENT WITH OSTPOLITIK AND THE  
QUESTIONING OF ITS BENEFITS THAT NOW PREVAIL IN THE FRG.  
IT MAY ALSO STEM FROM A FEAR OF THE DAMAGING EFFECTS  
OF THE ENERGY CRISIS ON THE WEST GERMAN ECONOMY AND  
HENCE ON THE ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO SUBSIDIZE  
CREDITS. FINALLY, THE POLES MAY NOW WANT TO MOVE AHEAD  
AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ANTICIPATION OF COMPETING  
CLAIMS ON THE FRG THAT ARE LIKELY TO COME FROM OTHER EE  
CAPITALS AS BONN COMPLETES THE PROCESS OF NORMALISING  
ITS RELATIONS. IN ANY EVENT, THERE SEEKS TO BE A GENERAL  
REALIZATION NOW ON THE POLISH SIDE THAT ONE CANNOT  
REASONABLY EXPECT TO BROIL A GOOSE AND HAVE IT LAY GOLDEN  
EGGS AT THE SAME TIME.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ECONOMIC COOPERATION, CREDIT, REPATRIATION, MINISTERIAL VISITS, EMIGRANTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 DEC 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** morefirh  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
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**Errors:** N/A  
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**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
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**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** WARSAW 6315  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** morefirh  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
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**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** OLSZOWSKI'S VISIT TO BONN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, GE, PL, (OLSZOWSKI)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005